2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

tain side of the house. The *metén* was a small building on a platform of bricks or sandstone, with a thick roof of thatch supported by eight posts and surrounded by four walls. There were no windows in the *metén* and the only light came through the narrow door. When one's eyes grew accustomed to the darkness inside, one could see the only furniture, the two beds, one on either side of the door. In more elaborate homes the platform of the *metén* extends into a front porch with additional beds. In Den Pasar, where modernism is rampant, many a front porch is embellished with framed photographs of relatives, made by the local Chinese photographer. By the door of Gedog's *metén* hung a picture of him with his wife and children in ceremonial clothes, violently coloured with anilines, sitting dignified and stiff against a background of stormy clouds, draperies, columns, and balustrades. The generous photographer had added all sorts of extra jewellery with little dabs of gold paint. I have seen the most amazing objects hanging in the porches of Balinese homes: dried lobsters, painted plates representing the snow-covered Alps, Chinese paintings on glass, old electric bulbs filled with water, aquatic plants growing out of them, postal cards of New York skyscrapers, and so forth; objects prized as exotic, rare things, as we prize their discarded textiles and moth-eaten carvings. In one house we found a picture of Queen Wilhelmina; we asked who she was and the quick reply came: "Oh! *itu gouvermen* — That is the Government." The *metén* is the sanctuary of the home; here heirlooms are kept and the family's capital is often buried in the earth floor under the bed. Normally the heads of the family sleep in the *metén*, but being the only building in which privacy can be secured, they relinquish it to newly-weds or to unmarried girls who need protection. They shut themselves into it at night, but otherwise the entire life of the household is spent outdoors on the porch or in the surrounding open pavilions, each provided with beds for other members of the family.

The other three sides of Gedog's courtyard were occupied by three open pavilions; on the left was the *balé tiang sanga*, the

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

gods" (*dewa alit*) in the temple. To the regular yearly festival in honor of the gods of the temple was added this therapeutic function.[1]

The spatial arrangement of this temple and the shrines within it are an actual schematization of the thesis I have been presenting, namely, that from the Durga figure two themes have sprung, that of the horrific Rangda on the one hand and that of the graceful, child-like puppet figure on the other. The chief shrine in the temple, a single court, is a *gedong* (closed shrine) sacred to Durga. All the people know her name, and there is even a statue (*togog*) of her standing before it, dressed in the sacred black and white cloth and with red hybiscus flowers in the headdress. A large palm leaf panel bearing the Old Indonesian designs hangs down from the open doors of the shrine. To the right, on an open shrine called a *balé tadjoeh*, a Rangda mask is set out. To the left, on another type of shrine called a *balé pelik*, twelve small puppet-like "little gods," the *dewa alit*, are set out, also dressed in finery and with flowers. Opposite the Durga shrine is the open building, the *balé piasan*, which is where the Brahmana high priest does his ceremonial praying (*mcweda*, from *veda*). In the corner near the gate is a roofed building to house the *gamelan* orchestra. The gate is to one side of center, and immediately opposite it on the outside is a high temporary shrine called a *panggoengan*, customarily put up at calendric festivals for offerings to the demons. Across the outer square is an enormous banyan tree with a shrine under it, said to be for Banaspati Radja, king of the demons and identified in this area with the Barong. The entire temple, instead of being oriented north and south, that is, with *kadja* (the head) towards the mountains and *kelod* (the foot) towards the sea, has its "head" towards the sea and east, putting the small gods north and Rangda to the south.

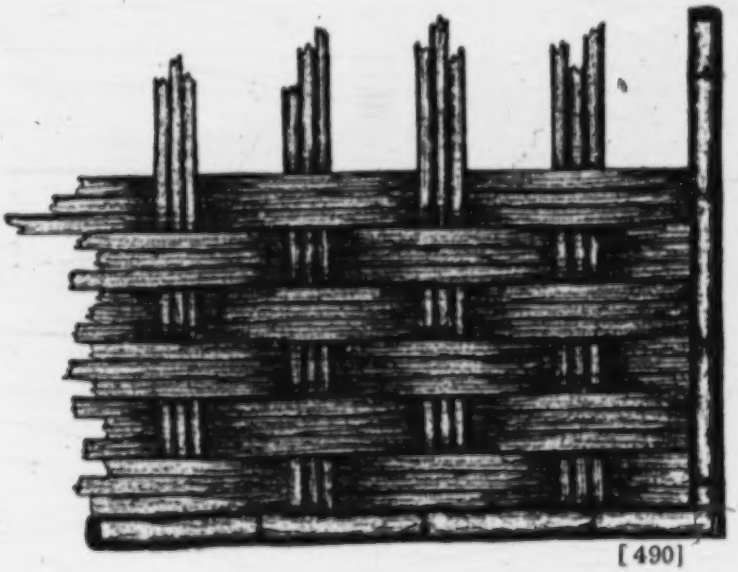
Godly presences are in the temple only when they are invited to come down with prayers and the preparation of offerings. The shrines are shelters for them, guest houses. For the most part they are empty. When a figure, such as this one of Durga, is present it is as a representation, a statue, a *togog*, not a god figure, an "idol." Sometimes a sacred object, a precious stone, a carved figure or pair of figures, a pair of little painted faces, things of this sort will be kept inside the shrine as receptacles for the gods' presence when they come down. Such objects are called *arija*, but this term was not

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.45 -- ANALYST]

[1] My field notes say: She told us that she promised to keep out the *dewa alit* for three days at this *odalan* if she got better. We remarked later that a great many members of her family took part in the ritual and dancing on the first day and on the last day, but on the last day she herself did not come. However, we have seen her since and she looks better (May 11, 1937).

1:Alkema & Bezemer--547 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Lombok OF12 Javanese OE5
Madara OE6 Celebes OG1
Borneo OC1 Sumatra OD1
Moluccas OH1 Malays AN5
Bali OF7

J [492 cont.]
I 1889, and later, at the one in 1900, when their manufacture
439 had been greatly improved, chiefly under the leadership of
[543] [illustration appears here] the gentleman Petit Jean, they re-
J ceived a gold medal. Since then the manufacture and trade
[285] of Tangeran hats has become very widespread, and the inhabit-



[490]

A Variation of the Straight Plaiting
Photo. Jasper -- Mas Pirngadie

ants have them to thank for a great deal of their present prosperity. [493] This industry is not confined to the Tangeran division, but is practiced successfully also in the Lebak division, in the eastern part of Serang, on the southern coast as far as Wijnkoops Bay, and in the Preanger Regencies, especially Bandung and other places.

I 352 353 355 Md S C J Bl Ms Br Md L 353

Although the use of plaited articles for clothing is not very great, they are more important in and about the dwellings. The walls of the dwellings are very often plaited work, and the floors are covered with it. (Java, Celebes, Sumatra, Bawéan, Bangka, Riau, Bali, Lombok, Madura, Borneo, and some islands in the Moluccas.)